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ABSTRACT

This research is part of an ongoing evaluation of the impact of the Butte County, California, Head Start program on mothers' child rearing behaviors and values, self esteem, and attitudes regarding family ideology. A total of 103 mothers of children enrolled in the Head Start program were given pre- and post-program interviews by their child's teacher as part of a regularly scheduled home visit. Questions were posed regarding child rearing behaviors in the following situations: (1) the child accidentally breaks something; (2) the child intentionally disobeys; (3) there is conflict between the child and an adult; (4) there is conflict between the child and another child. In addition, a question was directed at techniques used most frequently for general control of the child's behavior. Questions designed to assess self esteem and attitudes toward contemporary child rearing values, woman's role, and the authoritarian family were also administered. Statistically significant differences were found on responses to accidental breakage and child-adult conflict, indicating greater strictness with more exposure to the program. For general control techniques, the significant difference was in the direction of less strictness. Certain demographic characteristics, such as mother's and father's education and job prestige scores, were significantly correlated with scores on the attitude and self esteem scales. Scores on these scales did not differ significantly with more exposure to the program. (Author/SS)

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THE EFFECTS OF A HEAD START PROGRAM ON MATERNAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

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Since its inception in 1965, Project Head Start has focused on providing comprehensive support programs for poor children and their families. The objectives of the project were originally stated as follows:

1. "Improving the child's physical health and physical abilities."
2. "Helping the emotional and social development of the child by encouraging self-confidence, spontaneity, curiosity, and self-discipline."
3. "Improving the child's mental processes and skills with particular attention to conceptual and verbal skills."
4. "Establishing patterns and expectations of success for the child which will create a climate of confidence for his future learning efforts."
5. "Increasing the child's capacity to relate positively to family members and others while at the same time strengthening the family's ability to relate positively to the child and his problems."
6. "Developing in the child and his family a responsible attitude toward society, and fostering constructive opportunities for society to work together with the poor in solving their problems."

7. "Increasing the sense of dignity and self-worth within the child and his family."

(Planning Committee Report, 1966)

Much of the evaluative research which has been conducted on the program has been directed at the third of these objectives, improving the child's conceptual and verbal skills, and the findings have demonstrated that the early intervention strategies employed by Head Start programs have succeeded in producing performance gains in children. Early research found these gains to be generally short-lived, however, and some longitudinal research indicated that remission toward a performance level similar to children without preschool experience occurred typically within the first three years of formal education (Bronfenbrenner, 1974; Moore, 1977). The outlook for early childhood education was gloomy.

In 1975, upon instigation by Edward Zigler, a number of investigators who had studied early childhood compensatory education formed the Consortium on Developmental Continuity (now called the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies). Secondary analysis of the data from 14 studies of infant and preschool compensatory education programs was performed, as well as a longitudinal study of the children who participated in those studies. The findings indicated that the participants surpassed their controls on I.Q. for up to three years following the end of the program and the authors suggested that this advantage, while probably not permanent, appeared to last through the primary grades. In addition, it was found that early education significantly reduced the number of participants who were assigned to special education classes or were held back one or more grades, sparing the children the negative results of being labeled deviant. The researchers noted that parental involvement in the early education program was crucial to creating these effects (Lazar, Hubbell et al., 1977).

The involvement of parents in the lives of children through volunteer and paid program participation had been recognized as crucial to the eventual success of Project Head Start from the outset as reflected in the program objectives. Parent participation programs were designed to generate parental interest and to facilitate involvement in Head Start. Secondary benefits to parents of program participation have been found to include a reduction of 'cabin fever' isolation and an increase in feelings of rapport with community agencies and local political power structures (Hewett et al., 1978; Karnes et al., 1970). Among other beneficial lifestyle changes noted for Head Start parents have been increased motivation for better housing and budgetary control, as well as improved vocational skills and educational upgrading (Gilmer et al., 1970).

The ability of Head Start to obtain widespread parental involvement in the program, however, has been considered marginal, and it was found that many teachers had difficulty making the required home visits (U. S. General Accounting Office, 1975). The need for better parent involvement programs was recognized, including increased outreach to the entire family, including fathers and siblings (Hewett et al., 1978).

With the knowledge that increased program involvement by staff and parents should produce somewhat longer-term increases in such variables as I.Q., efforts were launched to extend intervention into the primary grades (Project Follow Through) and earlier into the home (Project Home Start). This approach was supported by Urie Bronfenbrenner, who wrote, "In sum, the psychological and practical advantages of the family-centered approach to early intervention clearly offers great promise for the future" (Bronfenbrenner, 1974). Edward Zigler, a one-time national director of Head Start, summed up his agreement by stating, "I conclude that a commitment to parental involvement leads relatively quickly to attitudes among children that must be nurtured before school performance can become optimal" (Office of Child Development, 1975).

A number of studies have found that children involved in intensive parent intervention programs during or prior to preschool and school enrollment did indeed achieve greater, more enduring gains in group programs (Bronfenbronner, 1974; Gilmer et al., 1970; Gordon, 1972, 1973; Radin, 1969, 1972; Stanford Research Institute, 1971a, 1971b; Smith, 1968). Consistent with the previously cited findings, parents in these "model" programs were more likely to cite positive relationship and developmental changes in their lives because of Head Start intervention than were parents in "regular" programs (Bissell, 1973).

Research reported by Shipman (1973) clearly demonstrated the alienation felt by many Head Start mothers and the real need for parent involvement programs directed especially at the program objective of "increasing the sense of dignity and self-worth within the child and his family." Some of these findings were:

1. 59% of Head Start mothers would not recommend that anyone move into their residential area.
2. 28% of the mothers reported they had no friend <u>at all</u> in the general area.
3. 32% of the mothers said that they did not go out for entertainment.
4. One-fourth to over two-fifths of the children lacked their own bed or place to store clothes and possessions. Only 17% of the children slept alone.
5. A sizable minority of the mothers indicated discontent with local schools.
6. The mothers studied were found to possess only moderate levels of confidence in their ability to change schools for the better.
7. These mothers were also found to harbor rather strong feelings of alienation.

8. Father was absent in 50% of the Head Start homes studied.

The identification and study of specific parental attitudes and attitudinal changes as a consequence of Head Start parent involvement has largely been neglected, however, in favor of topics more generally associated with the comparative effects of various classroom curricula strategies (e.g., Montessori, DARCEE, etc.) upon child development criteria. Very few studies have focused on parental values and attitudes, and the results of these are mixed, with some investigators reporting improved parenting abilities as well as increased feelings of self-confidence and coping ability (Wolotsky et al., 1970; MIDCO, 1972; Carrier and Holmes, 1972; Bromley, 1972). Other studies failed to find changes in parental attitudes associated with involvement in Head Start (Burden, 1974; Jacobs, 1970).

The present on-going research was undertaken in the fall of 1977 at the suggestion of the director of the Butte County, California Head Start Program.* The long-range goal is to generate specific directions of focus and intervention strategies for the parent involvement program, which emphasizes such involvement at a variety of levels. Teachers, their aides and supportive staff have the goal of becoming acquainted with the families of each child and determining how the program can best meet the needs of these families. In the fall of 1978, four new "family worker" positions were added to further implement family visits and parental involvement.

The Parent Involvement Coordinator has been a staff position at the county level since the program's inception, and the duties of this position

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*Nadeen West was director of the Butte County Head Start at that time, and is presently Acting Director of the Butte County E.O.C. Helen Fowler is now director of Head Start, and has also encouraged and supported the research.

include providing social and educational events designed to enhance parents' lives while facilitating involvement in the program, as well as acting as spokesperson for the parents. The latter function is shared with other staff members, and a basic tenet of the program is that parents are in charge of as well as recipients of services provided.

Parents, but most specifically mothers, are offered educational and employment opportunities with the program as teacher's aides in the classroom and in career-oriented positions as teachers and administrators. Advisory and supervisory parent review committees for program and budget planning offer further possibilities for involvement.

The research reported here is the result of the first year's study. It was designed to:

1) assess Head Start mothers' attitudes toward selected child-rearing values, self esteem and women's role. It was expected that these attitudes would be associated with demographic variables, such as education, occupation and family income. The research was also planned to measure changes in these attitudes which could be attributed to participation in the program.

2) gather information about participant mothers' child-rearing behaviors and to assess changes in those behaviors associated with Head Start participation.

Procedure

Demographic Information

Demographic information about Head Start parents is routinely collected by Head Start staff members and was made available to the researchers. Variables which were analyzed in the present study were the number of years of mother's and

father's education, the prestige score of mother's and father's job, as measured by the occupational and classification rankings developed by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC, 1977), and family income.

Attitude Scales

An attitude scale composed of 16 statements to which participants responded on a five-point Likert scale was administered in an interview. This scale was developed from one which had been used in previous research (Johnson, 1977) through discussion with Head Start staff members. Appropriate revisions were made on the basis of this feedback, and the final instrument consisted of the following subscales:

1. three items assessing degree of acceptance of contemporary childrearing values, such as giving children early responsibility and encouraging their relationships with other adults (Eiduson et al., 1973).
2. six items designed to assess self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965; Brown, 1961).
3. two items directed at acceptance of the conventional social role for women (Ernhart and Loevinger, 1969).
4. five items concerned with degree of acceptance of autocratic child-rearing values (Levison and Huffman, 1955).

The attitudes assessed by these subscales were directed at the program objective of "increasing the sense of dignity and self-worth within the child and his family." Mother's self esteem is clearly related to this objective and according early responsibility to children has been shown to be related to achievement motivation in eight to ten year old boys (Winterbottom, 1953) and to adolescent motivation to avoid failure and to low anxiety in achievement situations (Feld, 1967).

On the other hand, acceptance of autocratic child-rearing values such as condemnation of parents whose children are messy, rough, noisy or talk back, and discouraging a child from playing alone or being "different" appear to the authors to be deleterious to the dignity of both mother and child. This attitude also appears to be antithetical to the objective of helping the child and family to relate positively to one another.

Acceptance of the conventional social role for women was assessed by statements regarding whether women should work if they have children under six and whether women can learn mechanical skills as well as men. This subscale was brief and considered exploratory, but it appeared to the authors to relate to maternal feelings of self worth.

It was therefore predicted that demographic variables would be related to the attitude scales as follows: the more education a mother had, the more prestigeful her job and the higher the family income, the higher her self esteem would be, the more accepting she would be of contemporary child-rearing variables, and the less accepting of the conventional role for women and autocratic child-rearing values. In addition, it was predicted that fathers' education and job prestige would be related to mothers' attitudes in a similar way. It was also hypothesized that if attitudinal changes occurred which could be attributed to the Head Start program they would be in these directions.

Child-rearing Behaviors

Six questions were posed regarding child-rearing behaviors in various situations, based on work by Gecas and Nye (1974) and Johnson (1977). The purpose was to determine what behaviors were most frequently used. No predictions were made regarding changes attributable to the program.

Interviewers

Seventeen Head Start teachers gathered responses to the questionnaire as part of regularly scheduled home visits. They were trained in its administration by the senior author, who conducted group sessions in which ways to deal with possible problems were discussed, interviews were role-played, and group discussions on the value of the research were held. An alternate form of the questionnaire was produced in Spanish for use with the Spanish-speaking families of the sample, of which there were 18.

Sample

The sample consisted of 39 mothers who responded to the questionnaire at the beginning of the school year and again at the end of the year (pre- and post-test group). An additional 32 mothers were interviewed at the beginning of the school year, but had left the program by the end of the year (pre- only group). Thirty-two mothers had entered the program after the initial interview, and were interviewed only at the end of the year (post- only group).

Results

Demographic Characteristics

The majority of the mothers studied were Caucasian (72%), and the largest minority group was that with the Spanish surname (18%). The remaining 10% of mothers were Black, American Indian or classified as "other." Fathers were present in the home in 49% of the cases, and the information about fathers which follows is based primarily on those present fathers.

The amount of mothers' and fathers' education was similar; the median number of years of education was 11.6 and the mode was 12. The number of years of education for mothers and for fathers is shown in Appendix A. Only 14 mothers were employed, and on a scale of 09 to 78 their occupational prestige scores fell between 16 and 25, with 10 scores of 18 and 19. For 28 fathers

for whom the information was available the upper limit was higher (the range was 17 to 50), but the mode was 19, indicating generally nonprestigeful occupations. For most of the families studied monthly income was reported in the 0 to $499 category. The distribution of reported monthly income is shown in Appendix B.

Attitude Scores and Demographic Characteristics

It was expected that certain demographic characteristics of parents would be associated with the maternal attitudes expressed on the four scales. That is, it was predicted that mother's education and job, family income and father's education and job would be positively related to acceptance of contemporary child-rearing values and self esteem, and would be negatively related to acceptance of the conventional social role for women and autocratic child-rearing values.

Spearman correlation coefficients were calculated for these variables for participants for whom the information was available, and the results are shown in Table 1. The pre-test attitude scores were used for the group which was tested twice.

It can be seen that acceptance of contemporary child-rearing values was found to be positively associated only with mother's education (rho = .21, $p < .03$). This relationship was in the predicted direction; i.e., the more educated the mother the more accepting she was of contemporary child-rearing values, although the relationship is weak. Self esteem was significantly related to mother's education, family income, and father's job, although again the correlations were low.

Mother's job was strongly associated with less acceptance of the conventional social role for women (rho = -.55, $p < .02$). It should be noted that this finding is based on the 14 mothers who reported being employed.

Table 1

Correlations Between Demographic Characteristics and Attitude Scores

	Contemporary Child-Rearing Values	Self-Esteem	Conventional Social Role for Women	Autocratic Child-Rearing Values
	Rho	Rho	Rho	Rho
Mother's education (N = 90)	.21*	.14**	N.S.	-.22*
Mother's job (N = 14)	N.S.	N.S.	-.55*	-.37**
Family income (N = 87)	N.S.	.18**	N.S.	N.S.
Father's education (N = 54)	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	-.18**
Father's job (N = 28)	N.S.	.18**	N.S.	-.33*

* $p \leq .05$

** $.05 < p < .10$

Acceptance of autocratic child-rearing values was, as predicted, negatively associated with all of the demographic variables except family income, the correlation with which was not significant.

In summary, mother's job and education showed the strongest association with the attitudes which were assessed. In addition, the more prestigeful the father's job, the less accepting was the mother of autocratic child-rearing values.

Attitude Scores and Exposure to Head Start

It was expected that exposure to the Head Start program might affect attitudes in terms of mothers' higher self esteem, greater acceptance of contemporary child-rearing values and less acceptance of the conventional social role for women and autocratic child-rearing values. However, no significant differences between the mean scores on the pre- and post-test attitude scales were found for the group which was tested twice.

The two pre-groups were combined and the mean score on each of the attitude scales was compared with that of the combined two post-groups. These means are shown in Table 2. A significant difference was found for acceptance of the conventional social role for women ($t = -2.0$, $df = 140$, $p < .05$), but in the direction opposite to that predicted; post-group mothers were more inclined to accept this role than were pre-group mothers. No other significant differences were found.

Child-rearing Behaviors

Six questions were posed to participants regarding child-rearing practices. Each question had several possible responses and participants were able to indicate as many of them as were appropriate. For purposes of this analysis, responses were grouped in clusters, as shown in Table 3. T-tests were performed on the difference between the mean number of behaviors reported

Table 2

Mean Attitude Scores for the

Pre- and Post-Test Groups

	Pre Groups (N = 71)		Post Groups (N = 71)
Conventional social role for women	4.79	*	5.27
(possible range: 2 = not accepting, 10 = accepting)			
Contemporary child-rearing values	11.01		11.90
(possible range: 3 = not accepting, 15 = accepting)			
Autocratic child-rearing values	13.21		13.75
(possible range: 5 = not accepting, 25 = accepting)			
Self esteem	22.72		22.10
(possible range: 6 = low, 30 = high)			

* $p < .05$

Table 3

Clusters of Child-Rearing Behaviors

for Each Question

1. What do you do when your child accidentally breaks something?

2. What do you do when your child intentionally disobeys?

Permissive	Psychological	Physical
Ignore	Scold or yell	Physical punishment
Discuss	Hold back affection	
	Restrict	
	Induce guilt	
	Isolate	

3. What behaviors by the child are forbidden or strongly discouraged?

Fussing	Aggression	Contemporary
Tantrums	Words of anger	Eating sugar foods
Crying	Playing with guns	Watching TV
Whining		

4. How are disagreements between the child and adults handled?

Strict	Permissive
Adult decides	Talk it out
Third person	No way
Separation	

5. How are disagreements between the child and other children handled?

Strict	Permissive
Parents solve	Children solve
Third person	No way
Favor the older or younger	
Separation	

6. What kinds of things do you do to get your child to do what you want?

Strict	Permissive	Psychological
Tell child	Ask child	Reward or bribe
Assign, schedule	Explain, reason	
Threaten restriction	Nothing	
Threaten or scold		
Physical punishment		

in each cluster for each item for the pre- and post-test of the group tested twice and for the two pre- and post- groups combined. In addition, the proportionate use of each cluster was computed by dividing the total number of reported techniques in that cluster by the total number of responses to the item. Table 4 shows these proportions and indicates the statistically significant results of the two-tailed t-tests of the differences between the means.

Accidental breakage (Item #1). Permissive responses (ignore or discuss) were most frequently reported in response to accidental breakage. Psychological (scold, withhold affection, make child feel guilty, restrict or isolate) and physical punishment were less frequently reported.

There was a significant decrease in the frequency of permissive behaviors reported on the post-test by the group which was tested twice, and this difference was also found between the combined pre- and post- groups. Both differences were significant at less than the .05 level. An increase in the reported use of physical punishment for the group tested twice was significant at the .08 level, and was also evidenced in the combined groups, although that significance level was .24.

Intentionally disobeys (Item #2). The most frequently reported response to intentionally disobeying was physical punishment. Permissive techniques were the next most frequent, consisting primarily of the "discuss" rather than the "ignore" alternative. Psychological methods were the least frequently reported.

There was a significant decrease in the reported use of permissive techniques by the group which was tested twice ($p < .08$), and that difference was also reflected by the combined groups ($p < .14$). These latter groups also demonstrated a decrease in the reported use of psychological techniques ($p < .18$). There was no significant difference in the frequency of reported physical punishment.

Table 4

Proportionate Reported Use of Clusters of Techniques for Each Item

	Pre-Test		Post-Test	2 Pre Groups		2 Post Groups
Item #1						
Permissive	.69	*	.50	.67	*	.55
Psychological	.19		.19	.18		.21
Physical	.12	**	.31	.15		.24
Item #2						
Permissive	.32	**	.24	.29	***	.28
Psychological	.17		.17	.20	***	.19
Physical	.51		.59	.51		.53
Item #3						
Fussing	.50		.48	.49		.51
Aggression	.41		.37	.37		.36
Contemporary	.09	***	.15	.13		.13
Item #4						
Strict	.33	*	.40	.33	*	.41
Permissive	.67		.60	.67		.59
Item #5						
Strict	.44		.39	.37		.41
Permissive	.56	***	.61	.63		.59
Item #6						
Strict	.28		.33	.27	***	.24
Permissive	.37		.39	.42		.45
Psychological	.35		.28	.31		.31

* $p \leq .05$

** $.05 < p \leq .10$

*** $.10 < p < .20$

Forbidden behaviors (Item #3). The most frequently forbidden behaviors were what has been termed "fussing," i.e., tantrums, crying and whining. Following closely was aggressive behavior, such as displaying anger and playing with toy guns. Very few mothers reported forbidding eating sugar foods or watching TV.

The group which was tested twice showed an increase in forbidding eating sugar foods and watching television ($p < .18$), but this change was not evidenced by the combined groups.

Adult-child conflict (Item #4). Permissive techniques, such as "talk it out" and not interfering, were reported more frequently in response to adult-child conflicts than were strict techniques such as adult decision or separation.

There was a statistically significant difference between both the pre- and post-test group and the combined groups on the reported frequency of strict responses to this kind of problem. Both post- groups reported a higher frequency of strict responses than did the pre- group ($p < .05$ for each comparison). There was no significant difference among groups in the frequency of reported permissive techniques.

Child-child conflict (Item #5). Permissive techniques were more frequently reported in response to conflict between children than were strict techniques. There was an increase in the use of permissive techniques by the group tested twice ($p < .19$), but this change was not reflected by the combined groups.

Control of child's behavior (Item #6). Permissive behaviors (i.e., asking child, explaining to child, doing nothing) were reported most frequently in response to this item, but strict and psychological techniques were not far behind.

There was a decrease in reported use of strict techniques for the combined pre- and post-test groups ($p < .18$). No other differences were found on responses to controlling the child's behavior.

Discussion

Methodological problems were encountered in the course of this research which were not unlike those reported by others who have studied the results of compensatory education programs (e.g., Bissell, 1973; Shipman, 1973). For example, although most of the mothers in the two pre- groups were new to the Head Start program, a few may have had some previous experience with it. This information was not available to the researchers in all cases. Lazar, Hubbell et al. (1977) noted that there has been a paucity of data on new Head Start mothers, and the present research has made a positive step in this direction. In addition, Shipman (1973) pointed out the "comparable group" fallacy; she noted that Head Start families are different from non-Head Start low-income parents in several significant ways. These pre- groups were the best controls available for the study.

Another problem is that the amount of Head Start exposure experienced by the post- only group varied, and for some was probably not great. It should be noted that both of these problems work to attenuate rather than accentuate possible differences between pre- and post-test groups.

The use of 17 Head Start teachers as interviewers might be considered a problem in terms of consistency, but is more likely a strong point of the research. These teachers, themselves Head Start mothers, had a rapport with the mothers in the sample which a stranger could not have achieved. Shipman (1973) used local women to administer tests in her research on disadvantaged children and concluded that this had been a very effective use of a "pool of as yet untapped human resources" (p. 191).

Finally, there was a limitation on the time available for administering the questionnaire. The questions used in this research were determined during pre-testing to be about the maximal possible without losing the cooperation of the interviewers and interviewees.

The results of the analysis of the demographic information confirmed that most of these families were living below the poverty level and that the breadwinner held a low-prestige job. Father-absence in the sample (51%) was consistent with the findings of other studies of Head Start families (e.g., Shipman, 1973, found 50% father absence).

Mother's education and job were found to be the most predictive of scores on the four attitude scales. Five of the eight of these correlations were statistically significant in the predicted direction. The implication is clear that the efforts of Head Start in the area of providing employment possibilities and educational events for Head Start mothers is well directed.

The validity of the attitude scales was generally supported by the results. Self esteem and acceptance of autocratic child-rearing values were significantly correlated in the predicted direction with three and four, respectively, of the demographic variables. There were two scales on which only one correlation of the five predicted was significant. The first of these was acceptance of contemporary child-rearing values, such as giving children responsibility at an early age and encouraging their relationships with other adults. Only mother's education was associated with the score on this scale, and this is reasonable, since education is probably a primary source of information about these values.

The second of these scales was acceptance of the conventional social role for women. Scores on this scale were negatively associated only with mother's job, but this was the strongest relationship found of the 20 tested

(*rho* = -.55, $p < .05$). That mother's education was not related to this attitude is understandable when one considers that the educational system tends to teach the conventional social role for women, particularly at the elementary and secondary levels. This interpretation is consistent with the finding that Head Start mothers became more accepting of the conventional women's role with exposure to the program. These results need further investigation, using a complete attitude toward women scale, but one implication from the present data is that the Butte County program might profitably encourage mothers to learn mechanical or "fix it" skills.

Shipman (1973) made a distinction between the parental variables of status (demographic information) and process, or the interaction patterns between mother and child. The questions on child-rearing behaviors reflect such process. The authors made no predictions and hence, no value judgments, regarding changes in child-rearing practices as a result of the Head Start program. The research effort was directed at identifying the frequency of use of various techniques and possible changes in these frequencies with exposure to the program.

The general findings on mother-child interaction patterns indicate a reduction in the use of "permissive" techniques such as ignoring or discussing the child's behavior in certain specific situations involving the mother and the child with exposure to the program. This was accompanied by an increase in reported use of "strict" techniques such as physical punishment, adult decision about conflict resolution and telling the child what to do.

Post-test mothers appeared to be more focused in their use of techniques than pre-test mothers, indicating a more structured pattern of child-mother interaction. The finding also suggests an increased awareness of a variety of child-rearing techniques by these mothers.

The most frequently reported response to conflict between children, however, was to let the children themselves work out the problem without adult intervention, which indicates a sensitivity to the appropriate extent of involvement in children's interactions. In addition, with regard to techniques reported for general control of the child's behavior, post-test mothers reported using fewer strict behaviors, possibly indicative of a trend toward giving the child more responsibility, which would be consistent with contemporary child-rearing values.

Forbidden behaviors marks one area in which the authors did make a value judgment. It was believed that exposure to the Head Start program might decrease eating sugar foods and watching television, although this is not necessarily an objective of the program. These behaviors were not frequently reported as forbidden, but this frequency did increase on the post-test ($p < .18$). The authors suggest that the Head Start staff increase dissemination of information to mothers about the possible negative effects of these behaviors. In addition, further research should address the types of programs children watch (e.g., Saturday cartoons vs. Sesame Street). The omission of this kind of specification is a short-coming of the present study.

It appears from the results of this first-year study of the Butte County Head Start program that its parental involvement strategies are having a positive effect on the process of interaction between mother and child. It is important that the efforts to encourage education and provide jobs for Head Start mothers continue.

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Appendix A

Number of Years of Education for Butte County Head Start Mothers and Fathers, 1977-78

Years of Education	Mothers		Fathers	
	No.	%	No.	%
1 - 6	6	6.5	6	11.0
7 - 8	6	6.5	3	5.5
9 - 11	25	28.0	16	29.5
12	36	40.0	21	39.0
13-15	16	18.0	6	11.0
16	1	1.0	2	4.0
Total	90	100.0	54	100.0

Appendix B

Distribution of Reported Monthly Income for Butte County Head Start Families, 1977-78

	Number	Percent
0 - $499	60	69
$500 - 549	15	17
$550 - 649	4	5
$650 - 749	2	2
$750 - 849	3	3
$850 - 999	1	1
$1000 or more	2	2
	87	99